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Message Text

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66011
DRAFTED BY EUR:SHAGGERTY
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C: JMILLINGTON
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
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INFO AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 042829 TOSEC 040193

EXDIS

FOL REPEAT BONN 2953 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO
MOSCOW WARSAW FEB 20

QTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 02953

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PL, GW
SUBJECT: POLISH/GERMAN AGREEMENT

FOR HARTMAN FROM SONNENFELDT

REF: STATE 040479

1. IN MY PREPARED REMARKS TODAY TO THE GERMAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE AT KONRAD ADENAUER FOUNDATION HEADQUARTERS, THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH WAS INCLUDED: BEGIN TEXT" THE
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FUTURE OF GERMANY REMAINS AS FUNDAMENTAL TO THE EAST-

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WEST EQUATION IN THE PRESENT ERA AS IT WAS AT THE
HEIGHT OF THE COLD WAR. TOGETHER WITH OUR NATO ALLIES
WE HAVE WORKED TO OVERCOME THE DIVISIONS OF GERMANY
AND EUROPE, A GOAL ALSO DEEPLY DESIRED BY THE PEOPLES
OF EASTERN EUROPE. IT IS A PROFOUNDLY HUMANITARIAN
GOAL AS WELL AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE OVER-ALL
ENDEAVOR TO BUILD RESTRAINT INTO EAST-WEST RELATIONS.
IN THIS CONTEXT, WE HAVE LONG SUPPORTED THE EFFORTS OF
SUCCESSIVE GERMAN GOVERNMENTS TO ACHIEVE NORMALIZATION
AND RECONCILIATION THROUGH A SERIES OF AGREEMENTS WITH
THEIR NEIGHBORS TO THE EAST. CARRYING THE HEAVY BURDENS
OF HISTORY THEY DO, THIS HAS OFTEN BEEN A PAINFUL PRO-
CESS FOR ALL CONCERNED. YET IT IS ONE OF THE IMPERA-
TIVES OF OUR ERA AND WE WELCOME THE PROGRESS THAT HAS
BEEN MADE BY OUR GERMAN ALLIES SINCE THE FIRST STEPS IN
1955 IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH POLAND, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
AND THE SOVIET UNION." END TEXT

2. DURING MY SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION WITH CDU PARTY
CHAIRMAN HELMUT KOHL, WHICH DEALT MAINLY WITH THE
POLISH/GERMAN AGREEMENT, HE SAID THAT THE BASIC PROBLEM
FOR HIM WAS NOT ONE OF MONEY OR STATISTICS, BUT THAT
THE AGREEMENT DID NOT LEAVE OPEN THE POSSIBILITY FOR
EVERY GERMAN ETHNIC NOW LIVING IN POLAND TO LEAVE THE
COUNTRY WHO DESIRED TO DO SO. MOREOVER, ACTUAL POLISH
RESTRICTIVE PRACTICES AT THE PRESENT TIME HAD RESULTED
IN THE RECEIPT BY HIM AND BY EVERY OTHER CDU MEMBER
OF THE BUNDESTAG OF NUMEROUS LETTERS FROM GERMANS IN
POLAND WHO CLAIMED THAT THEIR APPLICATIONS FOR PER-
MISSION TO DEPART HAD IMMEDIATELY RESULTED IN DISCRIMI-
NATORY ACTION AGAINST THEM.

3. AFTER NOTING THAT WE DID NOT WISH TO INTERVENE IN
THE GERMAN DEBATE OVER THE AGREEMENT WITH POLAND, I
REPEATED SOMEWHAT MORE SPECIFICALLY THE POINTS I HAD
MADE IN MY PUBLIC REMARKS, STRESSING THAT WE HAD LONG
SUPPORTED THE GERMAN GOAL OF NORMALIZATION AND RECONCIL-
IATION WITH POLAND AND WOULD REGRET IT IF THIS PROCESS
WERE NOW ABORTED. I WENT ON TO SAY THAT GERMAN FAILURE
TO RATIFY COULD SERIOUSLY AFFECT GIEREK'S PERSONAL
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POSITION. IT HAD NOT BEEN EASY FOR THE POLISH LEADER
TO AGREE EVEN TO THE FIGURE OF 125,000, AND IF THE
OPPORTUNITY WERE NOW LOSTIT MIGHT NEVER COME AGAIN.
MOREOVER, WHAT MEASURE OF INDEPENDENCE THE POLES MIGHT
HAVE ACHIEVED VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION IN THEIR
FOREIGN POLICY WOULD NOW BE JEOPARDIZED. IT SEEMED TO
ME THAT THE SITUATION WAS SOMEWHAT ANALOGOUS TO THAT
WHICH THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD FACED WITH RESPECT TO

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SOVIET JEWRY. BECAUSE OF ADVERSE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, THE NUMBER OF PERMITTED DEPARTURES FROM THE SOVIET UNION HAD GONE DOWN TO THEIR PRESENT MINIMUM LEVEL FROM WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN THE AGREED HIGHER LEVEL. THUS THE END RESULT WAS ADVERSE FOR THE VERY PEOPLE WHOM IT WAS DESIRED TO HELP. THE SAME MIGHT WELL BE THE CASE WITH THE GERMAN ETHNICS IN POLAND IF GERMAN RATIFICATION WERE REFUSED.

4. KOHL DID NOT RESPOND TO MY POINTS DIRECTLY, BUT INSTEAD STRESSED HOW DIFFICULT THE LINE TAKEN BY THE FRG GOVERNMENT IN DEFENDING THE AGREEMENT HAD MADE IT FOR HIM PERSONALLY. HE NOTED THAT DURING THE BUNDESTAG DEBATE YESTERDAY CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT HAD CONTINUED HIS ATTACK ON HIS (KOHL'S) CREDIBILITY AS AN OBVIOUG TACTIC IN THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN. HIS RELATIONS WITH SCHMIDT WERE NOW IRREPARABLY RUINED. THE CHANCELLOR HAD CITED ALLEGED COMMITMENTS MADE BY HIM DURING A PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL MEETING ON SEPTEMBER 18, 1975, A MEETING AT WHICH FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER HAD ALSO BEEN UNEXPECTEDLY PRESENT. THE PUBLIC BETRAY-AL OF THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF SUCH A MEETING MADE POLI-TICAL DISCOURSE BETWEEN PARTY LEADERS IMPOSSIBLE. ACCORDING TO KOHL, HE HAD SAID THAT HE WAS SYMPATHETIC TO THE OBJECTIVE OF RAPPROCHEMENT WITH POLAND AND HAD PROMISED THE CHANCELLOR TO EXAMINE THE AGREEMENT CARE-FULLY. HE HAD NOT MADE ANY COMMITMENT, HOWEVER, THAT IT WOULD NECESSARILY BE APPROVED BY THE CDU. SOMEWHAT IRRELEVANTLY, HE ADDED THAT ANOTHER IMPORTANT FACTOR WAS THAT IN 1972 THE THEN CHANCELLOR BRANDT HAD BRUSHED ASIDE CDU DESIRES TO LEAVE OPEN, AT LEAST IN A LEGAL SENSE, THE FINAL BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT WITH POLAND, CLAIMING THAT THIS WAS NOW A SETTLED ITEM.
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5. KOHL WAS CALLED TO THE TELEPHONE AT THIS POINT TO BE TOLD THAT THE CHANCELLOR HAD JUST GIVEN A PRESS CONFERENCE IN EFFECT CONTINUING YESTERDAY'S DEBATE. THE CDU LEADER SAID HE WOULD OBVIOUSLY HAVE TO RESPOND IN HIS OWN PRESS CONFERENCE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

COMMENT: THE ATMOSPHERE IN BONN ON THIS ISSUE IS OBVIOUSLY HIGHLY CHARGED AT PRESENT. I MADE MY POINTS AND I BELIEVE THEY MADE SOME IMPRESSION ON KOHL, BUT HE OBVIOUSLY FEELS HIMSELF FORCED TO TAKE A POSITION WITH WHICH HE IS NOT ENTIRELY COMFORTABLE BY POLITICAL EXIGENCIES BEYOND HIS CONTROL. I SUGGEST THAT AMBASSADOR DAVIES, WITHIN HIS DISCRETION, BE AUTHORIZED TO GIVE THE LANGUAGE OF MY PUBLIC REMARKS TO THE POLISH

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GOVERNMENT, AS WELL AS THE FACT THAT I TOOK THE OCCASION OF MY CONVERSATION TODAY WITH KOHL TO PUT FORWARD THE ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF GERMAN RATIFICATION OF THE POLISH/ GERMAN AGREEMENT. IF THE LAST POINT IS MADE, IT SHOULD BE STRESSED THAT ANY PUBLICITY MUST BE AVOIDED ON THE POLISH SIDE SINCE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE NOT GET DRAWN INTO THE INTERNAL GERMAN DEBATE.
HILLENBRAND

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